1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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nothing to bite against, continue their upward growth.[1] Following their natural curve, they then curl backwards, and then downwards, piercing the cheek and then the jaw. The jaw is no obstacle, for, growing now forwards again through the bone, they finally emerge once more, each having completed a whole circle, with the tip of the tusk just inside the spot at which it first appeared. When the tusk has pushed its way up for the second time so that its tip is visible outside the animal's lip, it is considered perfect from a ritual point of view. This is, however, by no means the highest possible stage of growth. Tusks so treated can, with luck and good management, be induced to describe two complete circles, and there are cases in which they have been known to describe three. During my stay on Vao there was one highly valued beast which had attained this triple distinction.[2]

Tusked boar the natives' sacrificial animal.

The motive behind the tremendous labour and endless care lavished to produce these results is a religious one, since the prime value of the pig with artificially elongated tusks lies in the fact that it is the sacrificial animal, through the slaying of which, with due ritual, a man attains life after death.[3]

The manner in which this is accomplished, and the endless ramifications, both ritual and commercial, resulting from this belief, will be dealt with in due place. It must suffice here to point out that the whole process involves the identification of the sacrificer with the victim, and that since, in this strongly patrilineal society, men only have souls and have the right to sacrifice, only male pigs are so treated.

Gelded pigs.

Male pigs are, however, of two kinds, gelded and not gelded. The practice of gelding pigs is probably due to a compromise between religious ideology and gastronomical considerations. For an essential aspect of sacrifice is that the victim should also be eaten. But the most valued tusked boars are always old; moreover, the pain attendant on the passage of their tusks through the jaw is not conducive to that state of contentment which would enable them to put on flesh. The result is that, apart from their tusks, they are, as a rule, nothing but skin and bones. Partly owing

[1] This operation will be fully described in a future volume on Atchin. A brief account by Père Godefroy is quoted on p. 259 of the present volume.

[2] See p. 247, footnote 1.

[3] Fowls also are sacrificed (see p. 390), but do not of themselves confer new life. Recent innovations also include the sacrifice of animals introduced by the white man, such as young bullocks obtained from planters—I saw, and will describe in a future volume, one such sacrifice on Atchin—though such innovations are not approved of by the old men. On Ambrim another introduced animal known to have been sacrificed is the dog.

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232 to this, and partly so as to provide companionship for the boars, certain male pigs are gelded. Gelded pigs also have their upper canines extracted, and so develop elongated tusks, but are never, so far as I know, kept alive beyond the stage at which the tusks approach the jaw but have not yet entered it. They are reared for two purposes, firstly as companions to the tusked boars, and partly so as to provide the fleshy part of sacrifice. Thus pigs are often sacrificed in pairs, one tusked boar and one gelded tusker. The boar only is the official victim; the gelded tusker is sacrificed at the same time in order to provide the meat.

Sows not sacrificed or eaten.

231 262 Though women sometimes own pigs, sows are never sacrificed and therefore do not have their tusks artificially elongated; nor may they be eaten.[1] Men cannot eat sows because they are female, and women may not eat pig-flesh at all. For pig-flesh is only eaten as a result of sacrifice.

TERMINOLOGY; PIG GRADES; STAGES OF GROWTH

General Terms

231 192 The general word for "pig" is *bò*, or, when preceded by the indefinite article, *na-mbò*. The same word is used more specifically for "boar" as opposed to gelded pig or sow.

Gelded pigs are called *tamav*.

Sows are called *bò-rav*.

Pigs reared from a sow belonging to the owner and not acquired by trade are called *netin na-mborav*, and are particularly prized for sacrifice. Such pigs when grown to sacrificial size I will call "home-bred tuskers."

Intersex pigs, described in Vao as having vagina and testicles but no penis, are called *na-rav*. These are not intentionally reared on Vao, but sometimes occur in the course of ordinary breeding.

Four Main Grades depending on Curvature of Tusks

Tusked boars are, for ritual purposes, graded into four main categories, according to the length and curvature of their tusks. As these categories are the same, with dialectical variations, all over the Small Islands, and as it is necessary to be able to refer to them in English in such a manner as not to burden the reader with too many native terms, I propose here

[1] Compare Godefroy, 1, 1934, p. 481 "The sow is despised to such an extent that it may not even be eaten; if it is necessary, for some reason or other, to get rid of a sow, it is thrown into the sea, unless the young men take it for bait to attract sharks, which they then kill."